

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 230349 TOSEC 270266

LIMDIS; FOR LORD EYES ONLY FROM BARTHOLOMEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), UNGA, PARM

SUBJECT:SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH - NON-PROLIFERATION SECT.

REF: SECTO 27111

1. WE TOOK A HARD RUN AT FOLLOWING REVISED NON-PROLIFERA-
TION SECTION BUT ARE NOT SATISFIED THAT IT FULLY MEETS
GUIDANCE YOU RELAYED AND ARE CONTINUING TO WORK ON IT.
WE HAVE SOME CONCERNS ON TONE AND ORGANIZATION OF DANGERS
SECTION AND WHETHER, APART FROM STATEMENT OF PROBLEM,
CHARACTERIZATION OF OUR STRATEGIC APPROACH, AS OPPOSED
TO SPECIFIC STEPS, IS SUFFICIENTLY DEVELOPED AND
ANALYTICAL. I AM NONETHELESS TRANSMITTING IT SO THAT
YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO WORK WITH AND TO ELICIT ANY
FURTHER GUIDANCE THAT WILL HELP US IN REVISIONS UNDERWAY.
DEPUTY SECRETARY IS NOW REVIEWING THIS DRAFT AND WE
WILL RELAY ANY COMMENTS HE HAS.

BEGIN TEXT

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2. THE MENACE OF WIDESPREAD PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR

WEAPONS RAISES A STARK QUESTION REGARDING THE ABILITY

OF MANKIND TO INSURE HIS OWN SURVIVAL. WE HAVE LIVED
THROUGH MANY YEARS IN WHICH, PERILOUSLY, A RELATIVELY
FEW NATIONS MAINTAINED A NUCLEAR BALANCE WHICH DETERRED
THE CATASTROPHE OF NUCLEAR WAR.

3. BUT NOW, A WHOLLY NEW SITUATION IMPENDS. NOW, IT
IS POSSIBLE THAT DOZENS OF NATIONS CAN BECOME
POSSESSORS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NOW, IT IS POSSIBLE
TO FORESEE THAT THE THREAT TO USE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES
MIGHT BE ISSUED IN COUNTLESS REGIONAL DISPUTES AS
A SHORT CUT FOR PREVAILING. NOW, ONE CAN FORESEE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AS PAWNS TO BE STRUGGLED OVER IN INTERNAL
CONFLICTS. NOW, ONE CAN BE CERTAIN, UNLESS THE DIRECTION
OF CURRENT FORCES IS ALTERED, THAT THE LIKELIHOOD OF
NUCLEAR DEVASTATION WILL VASTLY INCREASE IN THE YEARS
TO COME.

4. IT MAY BE SAID THAT THESE CONSEQUENCES WILL ACCRUE
ONLY IF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF
IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENTS. BUT LET US NOT FEAR TO
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SAY IN PUBLIC WHAT ALL OF US KNOW TO BE A TRUTH: IF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS COME TO BE POSSESSED BY DOZENS OF
GOVERNMENTS, NO ONE CAN INSURE THAT ALL OF THOSE
- -
GOVERNMENTS, AND THE SUCCESSORS TO THOSE GOVERNMENTS,
-
WILLBE FULLY RESPONSIBLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CRISES

5. OBVIOUSLY WE FACE A CHALLENGE OF TRANSCENDENT
IMPORTANCE, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY IS TO TAKE STEPS

NOW.

6. LET US BEGIN BY ANALYZING AS HONESTLY AS WE CAN

THE SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM. WHAT ARE THE MOTIVATIONS

WHICH CAN LEAD TO PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

7. THERE IS TODAY A RAPIDLY INCREASING INTEREST

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD IN NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMS:

-- THE ENERGY CRISIS AND CONSEQUENT DRASTIC RISE

IN OIL PRICES HAS STIMULATED A MULTITUDE OF NATIONS --

DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING -- TO TURN TOWARD NUCLEAR

ENERGY, BOTH AS A MEANS OF LOWERING THE COST OF

GENERATING ELECTRICITY AND OF REDUCING THEIR RELIANCE

UPON IMPORTED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS.

-- IN AN AGE OF FERVENT NATIONALISM, THE ACQUISITION

AND EXPANSION OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR POWER SYSTEMS AS A
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SYMBOL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND AS A CONCRETE CONTRI-

BUTION TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT HAS BECOME A HIGHLY

DESIRED MEANS OF ENHANCING NATIONAL PRESTIGE.

-- AND IN A WORLD INCREASINGLY MARRED BY REGIONAL

RIVALRY AND CONFRONTATION, THE EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL

INHERENT IN THE MORE SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGIES

ALSO MAY BE REGARDED BY SOME AS PROVIDING A FUTURE

OPTION TO ENHANCE THEIR MILITARY SECURITY OR POLITICAL

INFLUENCE THROUGH THE ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

8. IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE WORLD'S NATIONS PERSIST

IN THEIR OBJECTIVE OF FINDING ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

OF ENERGY TO REDUCE RELIANCE ON INEXORABLY DWINDLING

FOSSIL FUELS. YET IF PROGRESSIVE PATTERN OF PROLIFERA-
TION BRINGS WITH IT A SPREADING NUMBER OF NATIONS WITH
A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY, NO ONE WILL GAIN. ALL
WILL LOSE.

9. IN THE LONG-TERM NO NATION CAN GAIN MILITARILY
OR POLITICALLY FROM A NUCLEAR DECISION. TEMPORARY
ADVANTAGES IN LOCAL BALANCES OF POWER OR IN POLITICAL
PRESTIGE MAY COME. BUT THESE WILL SOON BE OFFSET AS
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POTENTIAL OPPONENTS MOVE TO OFFSET PERCEIVED
IMBALANCES. THE NET RESULT WILL BE CHAOTIC REGIONAL
AND GLOBAL SITUATIONS WITH MASSIVE IMPLICATION FOR
THE OBLITERATION OR SURVIVAL OF PEOPLES. ALL NATIONS
WOULD BE COMPELLED TO COPE WITH AN ENVIRONMENT OF
INTENSIFIED UNCERTAINTY, COMPLEXITY, AND DESTRUCTIVE
POTENTIAL. MAINTAINING GLOBAL STABILITY WHEN NUCLEAR
POWERS ARE LIMITED IN NUMBERS IS DIFFICULT IN THE EXTREME
IN A WORLD WITH MULTIPLE CENTERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
CAPACITY, PEACE -- AND EXISTENCE -- COULD WELL BECOME
AN IMPOSSIBILITY, FOR THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE THAT
NUCLEAR-ARMED ADVERSARIES IN SUCH A WORLD CAN ALWAYS
BE DETERRED FROM USING OR THREATENING THE USE OF
SUCH WEAPONS. NOR CAN THERE BE ANY CONFIDENCE THAT
CONVENTIONAL CONFRONTATIONS WILL NOT ESCALATE TO
NUCLEAR EXCHANGES. DECISION-MAKERS OPERATING UNDER
CONDITIONS OF WIDE PROLIFERATION WOULD HAVE TO

COPE WITH DESTABILIZING INTERACTIONS AMONG THEIR
NUCLEAR FORCES, MUTUALLY REINFORCING MISPERCEPTIONS
OF READINESS TO TAKE NUCLEAR RISKS, AND INCREASINGLY
UNPREDICABLE OUTCOMES.
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10. NATIONS BELIEVING THAT THEIR SECURITY WILL BE
INCREASED BY MOVING TOWARDS NUCLEAR WEAPONS FAIL TO
ACCOUNT FOR THE INEVITABLE REACTIONS OF ADJOINING STATES
AND THE NEGATIVE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR
BROADER SECURITY ENVIRONMENT. A COUNTRY CHOOSING NOW
TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES -- WHICH ARE TECHNICALLY
EQUIVALENT TO WEAPONS -- MUST THEREFORE ACCEPT
RESPONSIBILITY NOT ONLY FOR ITS OWN ACTIONS BUT FOR
ENCOURAGING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION TO A GREAT MANY
COUNTRIES THEREAFTER. IT IS NAIVE TO BELIEVE THAT
IT IS POSSIBLE TO ADD TO THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR POWERS
BY ONE -- AND ONLY ONE. ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH HOPES THAT
THE DOOR TO THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARSENAL CAN BE CLOSED
AS SOON AS IT IS INSIDE IS DELUDING ITSELF. TO BE
FACED WITH NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES THREATS FROM MANY
DIRECTIONS IS A PROSPECT WHICH NO NATION CAN COUNTENANCE
WITH EQUANIMITY.

11. AND AT A TIME WHEN CONSTRUCTION OF A NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIVE DEVICE INCREASINGLY IS WITHIN THE CAPACITY
OF NATIONS ON EVERY CONTINENT, THEIR DEVELOPMENT CAN SERV
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NO CONCEIVABLE PURPOSE OF DEMONSTRATING TECHNOLOGICAL
EMINENCE OR NATIONAL CAPACITY.

12. NUCLEAR PARADOX

13. THE WORLD THEREFORE FACES A PARADOX: COUNTRIES
ARE TURNING INCREASINGLY TO NUCLEAR POWER AS A SOURCE
OF ENERGY FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS. BUT ITS UNRESTRAINED
SPREAD -- GIVEN IMPETUS NOT ONLY BY LEGITIMATE ECONOMIC
NEEDS BUT BY POLITICAL AND MILITARY MOTIVATIONS --
RAISES THE STARK THREAT OF PROLIFERATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND THE RELATED RISKS OF ACCIDENTS, BLACKMAIL, THEFT,
TERRORISM AND USE IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

14. IN CONFRONTING THIS PARADOX, THE WORLD COMMUNITY
MUST FIND A WAY TO MEET LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS WITHOUT
CONTRIBUTING TO THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.
TO DO OTHERWISE WILL PUT INTO SERIOUS JEOPARDY
IF NOT CRIPPLE ENTIRELY, THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF
PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY TO SERVICE MANKIND'S NEEDS,
AS EXPORTERS AND IMPORTERS ALIKE COME TO LOSE CONFIDENCE
IN THE ABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO FIND
EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES FOR REALIZING THE PEACEFUL BENEFITS
OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, WHILE ELIMINATING ITS INHERENT RISK
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TO WORLD SECURITY.

15. THERE IS NO SINGLE KEY TO SUCCESS. WE HAVE NO
ALTERNATIVE BUT TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP MUTUALLY
REINFORCING MEASURES WHICH CAN, AT EACH STAGE OF THE

PROCESS AS WELL AS IN A CUMMULATIVE FASHION DETER THE
SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITIES.

16. NUCLEAR FRAMEWORK

17. THE FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION WE MUST CONSTRUCT
SHOULD RECONCILE GLOBAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CONTROLS
WITH GLOBAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SUPPLY. THE FIRST LINE
OF ACTION MUST INVOLVE MOVING TOWARD STRONGER SAFEGUARDS
AND INCREASED RESTRAINT IN SENSITIVE CATEGORIES.
AS A NECESSARY COMPLEMENT, WE MUST PURSUE WITH EQUAL
VIGOR A SECOND LINE OF ACTION DESIGNED TO ENSURE
RELIABLE AND ECONOMIC SUPPLY OF NON-SENSITIVE NUCLEAR
FUEL AND EQUIPMENT.

18. THE FIRST LINE OF ACTION REQUIRES:

-- FIRST, ENSURING THAT THE SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR FUEL
AND EQUIPMENT NECESSARY TO SUPPORT ENERGY PRODUCTION
CONTINUES TO TAKE PLACE UNDER THE MOST EFFECTIVE
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SAFEGUARDS AND CONTROLS POSSIBLE, TO PREVENT THE
MISUSE OF ANY WEAPONS-USABLE MATERIALS THAT MAY BE
INDIRECTLY GENERATED. WE THEREFORE URGE THE WIDEST
POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY,
AND THE COMPREHENSIVE ACCEPTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL
SAFEGUARDS
BY NON-PARTIES. THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF NUCLEAR
MATERIALS, WHETHER IN USE, STORAGE OR TRANSFER, MUST
BE INCREASED. THE IAEA MUST RECEIVE THE FULL SUPPORT

OF ALL NATIONS IN MAKING ITS SAFEGUARDS AS EFFECTIVE
AND AS RELIABLE AS POSSIBLE. ANY POTENTIAL VIOLATOR
OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS MUST UNDERSTAND THE IMMEDIATE AND
ADVERSE IMPACT TO ITSELF OF SUCH A SERIOUS AFFRONT
TO INTERNATIONAL NORMS.

-- SECOND, PROVIDING SAFE AND ECONOMICAL ALTERNATIVES
TO SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE TRANSFERS, NOTABLY
THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH PLUTONIUM AND HIGHLY ENRICHED
URANIUM, WHICH ARE WEAPONS-USABLE MATERIALS, AND
DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS FOR SUCH
MATERIALS IF THEY ARE PRODUCED. IT IS THEREFORE
IMPERATIVE TO EXERCISE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE
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RESTRAINT IN THE TRANSFER OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FACILITIES
FOR ENRICHING URANIUM AND PRODUCING PLUTONIUM. ADHERENCE
TO SAFEGUARDS IS NECESSARY BUT NOT SUFFICIENT FOR
GUARANTEEING THAT NUCLEAR COMMERCE REMAINS PEACEFUL.
COUNTRIES WHICH SEEK TO ACQUIRE SUCH FACILITIES UNDER
NATIONAL CONTROL, IN DISREGARD OF ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS
AND MILITARY TENSIONS, MUST RECOGNIZE THE SECURITY
IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR ACTIONS -- WHETHER OR NOT THESE
IMPLICATIONS WERE INTENDED. OTHERS CANNOT BE BLAMED
FOR DRAWING THE LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES FROM SUCH
CIRCUMSTANCES.

19. NUCLEAR SUPPLY

20. TO MOVE EFFECTIVELY ALONG THE SECOND LINE OF

ACTION, INVOLVING ASSURED NON-SENSITIVE SUPPLY, THE
US PROPOSES CONCRETE AND FORWARD STEPS IN THE SUPPLY
OF NON-SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FUEL:
-- WE URGE NUCLEAR CONSUMERS AND SUPPLIERS TO
JOINTLY SEEK SAFER AND MORE RELIABLE ALTERNATIVES
TO THE FURTHER TRANSFER OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FACILITIES.
WHERE SUCH FACILITIES ARE ALREADY AVAILABLE, THEY

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SHOULD BE USED TO GUARANTEE THE NUCLEAR FUEL NEEDS
OF ALL CONSUMERS.
-- TO SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, MY GOVERNMENT IS
DETERMINED TO ENACT NEW LEGISLATION TO EXPAND ITS
CAPACITY TO MEET INTERNATIONAL DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR FUEL.
-- WE PROPOSE TO CONSIDER WAYS OF (POOLING OUR
RESOURCES) WITH OTHER NATIONS TO ENSURE UNINTERRUPTED
AND ECONOMICAL SUPPLY UNDISTORTED BY COMMERCIAL
RIVALRY.
-- WE CONTINUE TO SEE MERIT IN DEVELOPING, IN
APPROPRIATE CASES, SUITABLY SITED MULTINATIONAL
ALTERNATIVES TO NEW NATIONAL FACILITIES, IF AND WHEN
THESE BECOME REQUIRED, AND WE COMMEND THE THOROUGH
STUDY BEING CONDUCTED BY THE IAEA IN THIS AREA.

21. AS A NECESSARY ADJUNCT TO THE FOREGOING PROPOSALS
FOR ASSURING FUEL SUPPLY, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
MUST MEET THE INCREASING DANGER INHERENT IN THE
ACCUMULATION OF PLUTONIUM FORMED IN NUCLEAR REACTORS

AND THE PRESSURE TO BUILD NATIONAL FACILITIES TO

PROCESS AND RECYCLE THIS MATERIAL. RELIABLE NUCLEAR

FUEL ASSURANCES AT LOWER COST ARE A KEY ELEMENT IN
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LIMITING THIS PRESSURE. (BUT BEYOND THIS, THE UNITED

STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING NEW APPROACHES TO DEAL

WITH THE ISSUE OF PLUTONIUM CONTROL:

-- ESTABLISHING SECURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR STORING

UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES USED REACTOR FUEL OR

SEPARATED PLUTONIUM, IN EXCESS OF CIVIL NUCLEAR NEEDS.

WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK TO THIS END WITH ALL

INTERESTED STATES AND THE IAEA, WHOSE CHARTER PERMITS

IT TO ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL STORAGE FACILITIES.

PRESIDENT FORD HAS DIRECTED THE CONTRIBUTION OF

US RESOURCES, FACILITIES AND READINESS TO STORE OUR

OWN EXCESS CIVIL SPENT FUEL AND PLUTONIUM UNDER IAEA

AUSPICES, PENDING NEED IN OUR CIVILIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM.

-- WE PROPOSE THAT ARRANGEMENTS BE DEVELOPED TO

PERMIT AN EXCHANGE OF FRESH FOR USED REACTOR FUEL

UNDER EQUITABLE TERMS, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN INTER-

NATIONAL SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL STORAGE AND FOR

LIMITING EVENTUAL REPROCESSING TO EXISTING FACILITIES.

-- WE URGE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL

NUCLEAR FUEL BANK WHICH WOULD COORDINATE NUCLEAR FUEL

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SUPPLY, EXCHANGE AND STORAGE, HELPING TO ENSURE FRESH

REACTOR FUEL SUPPLY AND TO REALIZE ANY EVENTUAL VALUE
OF REACTOR OUTPUT.)

22. NUCLEAR IMPERATIVES

23. THE PROBLEM OF PROLIFERATION DEMANDS CANDOR. IT

CAN PERHAPS BE MANAGED -- BUT ONLY PARTIALLY AND

TEMPORARILY -- BY TECHNICAL MEASURES. IT CAN BE

SOLVED, HOWEVER, IF ALL OF US FACE THE PROBLEM

REALISTICALLY. THESE REALITIES ARE FUNDAMENTALLY

POLITICAL, RELATING TO THE DETERMINATION AND FORESIGHT

OF LEADERS IN RESISTING PERCEIVED SHORT-TERM

ADVANTAGES IN FAVOR OF FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM GAINS.

WE ASK ALL LEADERS TO SEE THAT THEIR INDIVIDUAL

AND COLLECTIVE INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY

INTERNATIONALLY ASSURED AND SAFEGUARDED NUCLEAR

FUEL SUPPLY, SERVICES AND STORAGE. WE ASK THEM TO

TURN ASIDE FROM PURSUING ILLUSORY AND DANGEROUS

OBJECTIVES OF FULL NUCLEAR ENERGY INDEPENDENCE,

PRESTIGE, OR SECURITY THROUGH ACQUISITION OF SENSITIVE

NATIONAL FACILITIES.

24. IF WE CAN MOVE TOGETHER CONSTRUCTIVELY AND
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COOPERATIVELY IN MANAGING OUR COMMON NUCLEAR PROBLEMS,

WE WILL NOT ONLY ENHANCE OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY BUT

WE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO CONCENTRATE OUR ENERGIES

AND OUR RESOURCES ON THE GREAT TASKS OF CONSTRUCTION

RATHER THAN CONSUME THEM IN PROCESS OF INCREASINGLY

DESTRUCTIVE RIVALRY.

25. NO CHALLENGE BEFORE THE WORLD COMMUNITY IS MORE
COMPLEX NOR MORE CRITICAL THAN THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION. IN NO AREA OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN
DOES THE FUTURE OF THIS PLANET DEPEND MORE DIRECTLY
UPON WHAT THIS GENERATION ELECTS TO DO -- OR NOT TO
DO. THE WORLD COMMUNITY NOW CONFRONTS A CHOICE -- TO
SEEK RATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE ACTION TO SAFELY UTILIZE
THE POTENTIAL OF NUCLEAR POWER AS AN IMMENSE FORCE FOR
PROGRESS, OR, BY MEANS OF NEGLECT, SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS,
OR DESIRE FOR SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT, CONDEMN OUR
CHILDREN'S LIVES TO A PERVASIVE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
CATASTROPHE.

26. WE ARE FACED WITH A DILEMMA OF THE UTMOST SEVERITY
BUT IT IS FULLY WITHIN OUR CAPACITY TO RESOLVE IT IN
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WAYS THAT ADDRESSE BOTH THE IMPERATIVE OF PEACE AND
THE PURPOSES OF OUR COMMON PROGRESS. THE RESPONSIBILITY
WHICH HISTORY HAS PLACED UPON US IS CLEAR. LET US
HAVE THE GOOD SENSE TO SEE BEYOND THE INTERESTS AND
AMBITIONS OF THE MOMENT AND TURN TO THE WORK OF
CONCRETE COOPERATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL MANKIND. HABIB
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